2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

For seven days after either kind of funeral, mourning goes on in the house. This means in wealthy houses indiscriminate eating and drinking. Cooking goes on all night, and all day relays of condoling visitors come and eat and enjoy themselves. The yahans also come every morning and receive offerings, and recite a string of Pali sentences. Friends bring contributions towards all this expenditure, but the result of it too often is that the heir finds that not only are all his father's hoarded rupees gone, but he himself has contracted a very considerable burden of debt. Even in the case of poor people, where the feasting is limited to the seventh day, great expense is incurred. The yahans are as necessary then as at the funeral, for the house must be purified, and the evil spirits who may be hanging about, as well as the leip-bya of the deceased, have to be exorcised and driven away. Then the pot containing the bones, if the dead person was burnt, is taken to the graveyard and buried, or sometimes is put into a hole near the pagoda. Superstitious people at burials sometimes affirm that they have caught the "butterfly" of the deceased in a handkerchief, and take this home to the house, where it lies till the seventh day, when it is opened after the discourse of the yahans, and the leip-bya is driven from the house. It can then give no more trouble.

Sometimes a small pagoda is erected over the cremated ashes of a highly respected relative. These are regarded simply as monuments, even when they are over a king, to whom alone of laymen in Native Burma they could be erected. They must not be used as places to offer worship, and that this may be known, the members of the sacred order ordain that such pagodas shall have no hti, no umbrella, on the top. To obviate this it is usual with the builder to dedicate the place to Shin Gautama, and thus at once secure a monument and a hti. Pagodas erected in honour of yahandas, or particularly sainted pôngyis, receive the umbrella of right, and are places very eminently suited for the pious laymen to worship at. Such temple tombs are called ayo sedi, but are not of such frequent erection as they used to be.

In some cases the relations grind down the bones to powder, and mixing this with the wood oil called thitsi,

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

basis of invidious distinctions. Persons of means are esteemed more for the socially valued uses to which they may put their money, such as charity, ceremonial activities, and support of the clergy, than for sheer richness or consumption.

Economic Change

The changing pattern of Tadagale's economic life may be described from the point of view of shift from a once largely subsistence economy to one based more upon commodity production and exchange. In discussing this shift, the general trends are best indicated if we focus upon Lower Burma rather than upon Tadagale exclusively. It is desirable to make this large area our unit because pertinent data are available for it, whereas historical information specific to the village is somewhat scant and fragmentary. The term "Lower Burma" is an administrative and geographical one. It comprises about 81,000 square miles and a population of some 9 millions, four of the administrative divisions in the highly fertile, deltaic 'rice-bowl' of Burma.

1. Background. The trend from a relatively self-sufficient subsistence economy, with little dependence upon money, to a more commercialized economy coincides with the coming of British colonial rule in Burma. Our historical perspective thus extends over a period of about 150 years. Within this span of time, profound economic change occurred in Lower Burma. Here we cannot give a detailed account of events from decade to decade, but must limit ourselves to a brief consideration of the major trends.

In pre-British Lower Burma, villages consisted of what might be called islands of clearance in a big jungle. In these settlements the Burmese peasants lived by cultivation of paddy and vegetable gardens. Individual small holdings were the rule, and the size of the plot depended almost entirely upon need. No incentive existed to clear and cultivate land beyond the requirements of household subsistence and taxes, paid in kind, to the representative of the Burmese Crown. Cotton, from the dry zone of central Burma, was spun and woven into cloth, and garments were made in the local community. Housing was of a simple bamboo and thatch type, made of materials available locally. The bullock cart provided transport on the relatively few occasions that it was necessary for the Lower Burma villager to travel distances that could not be walked. Contact between villages was minimized by the expanses of intervening, uncleared jungle country. In Tadagale, for example, one of our oldest informants was able to recall the period of his youth, around 1885, when jungle clearance and settlement was still taking place, bringing Tadagale into closer communication with other communities in the area. Local craftsmen provided the villagers with simple utensils, tools and implements.

When British colonialism took over, money came to dominate over barter. Taxation was ordered to be paid in money. The Burmese cultivator was encouraged to clear the heavy jungle, cultivate more land, sell surpluses of paddy to commercial millers, and spend his money on attractive manufactured goods imported from England, which were on display in the town shops and bazaars. Moneylenders, some of them Burmese, but especially Indians of the moneylending Chettiar caste from Madras, who could enter Burma freely, were at hand to loan money in fairly unlimited amounts to the Burmese peasants. Thus the latter could finance the expansion of their cultivation. Rates of interest charged were unregulated, and commonly ranged from 10% to 35% per year. The Burmese peasant was an easy victim: he was, at first, entirely unsophisticated in money

matters, and cases occurred in which he unwittingly signed away title to his property, thinking he was only signing 'loan papers.' In some cases, Burmese cultivators, encouraged by moneylenders, borrowed sums greater than actually required for crop financing and used the excess for sponsorship of ceremonial activities, dramatic presentations, purchasing imported goods never before needed, and so on. 426

The result of this was the tremendous growth of rural indebtedness and much foreclosure by creditors holding mortgages on the land. By the 1930's, about half the cultivated land of Lower Burma was owned by landlords, largely absentee. The once independent Burmese land holder was converted into a rural tenant, or, in many instances, a landless agricultural laborer. Many tenant farmers, dependent upon rent-racking landlords, worked from harvest to harvest with little to show for their efforts beyond perhaps enough of the crop, after payment of rent, hired help, and debts, to feed their families through the planting and growing seasons. Large numbers left agriculture for other pursuits, such as petty clerical jobs in the towns and itinerant trading in imported goods. In Tadagale, for example, in 1949-50 it was possible to record cases of cultivators in such difficult straits that after paying their help and taxes, they did not have enough paddy left for the family granary to last until the next harvest, and were thus in the position of having to purchase in the market, at inflated prices, the very commodity they produced. 178 426 463

2. The Shift in Tadagale. The economic shift within the village may be summarized in terms of modes of employment, resources, imports and exports. 178

a. Employment. Rice agriculture has been decreasing as the land has passed, over time, into the hands of absentee landlords and independent owner-cultivators have become fewer. The tenant farmers are likewise small in numbers. [243] [427]

The manufacture of clothing has also diminished. Formerly, cotton was spun and woven in the village. Now, clothing is very largely obtained by purchase of imported piece goods in Rangoon and having it finished by city tailors and seamstresses. [294]

Oil pressing as an occupation has disappeared. The one remaining presser of oil seeds recently abandoned this work because of the difficulty and high cost of obtaining sesamum seeds from central Burma. [249]

In a few occupations there seems to have been no notable change. These are carpentry and work in bamboo and thatch, which keep a few people occupied; itinerant selling of prepared foods; shopkeeping; and medical practice (indigenous medicine). 178 463

Several occupations are new or increasing in the village. Agricultural wage labor has increased as more people have been unable to secure a living as tenant farmers and have gone to work for others in and near the village. Vegetable gardening, always important because of the nearby Rangoon markets, has become a leading occupation, especially since the beginning of the insurrections in 1948 which reduced the supply of fresh vegetables from the north.

As motor transport has replaced animal transport over the years, the men of Tadagale have been increasingly employed in operating buses. Related to this is the establishment of a repair shop by a motor mechanic to service the buses owned by villagers.

It will be noted that most of 342
the living takes place on the downstairs floor where the bedrooms and [512]
the porch are located. The altar is also located downstairs [778]

U Myaing explained that the altar should be upstairs but it was more convenient downstairs. The posts on which the house rests rise a few feet above the ground. In all there are about 15,050 cubic feet enclosed by the house. Of this amount 1450 cubic feet are used for sleeping quarters for the family, 729 cubic feet is devoted to religion in the altar room, and 800 cubic feet is used in the kitchen for preparing food. The rest of the space is for social functions including visitors and relaxation, with some space used for storage.

In Pathus there were no beds and no chairs except for one deck chair 352
which had been handed down to U Myaing from his father. There were [428]
however, five small stools about four inches high and measuring about 12" by 6". These stools did not have four legs but instead were made of one flat board hammered onto two boards laid on their ends. They had one four legged stool measuring 2½ feet by 1½ feet and about 8 inches high. This was utilized as a chess board. (U Myaing and three or four [524]
others played chess four or five times a month in the afternoons. Their house was the only one in the village to possess a board and chessmen, U Myaing having received it from a cousin.) There was another stool about two feet high and one and a half feet square to hold the KYAUK KAR [415]
food carrier.

There were also two round Burmese tables. The smaller one was about three feet in diameter and one foot tall. Ma Aye Myaing could not estimate the diameter of the larger one but she remembered that eight men could eat at a time at this table, and that people who gave charities often came to [426]
borrow it for that reason.

There was a three legged stand for holding two water pots. The pots were placed on two horizontal triangles formed one about two feet above the other by the peices of wood holding together the three upright feet of the stand. This stand was made by U Myaing at home.

They also possessed two cupboards both of which had been handed down [428]
to U Myaing by his father. The first one, used for holding clothes, was three TAUNG high, two and one half TAUNG wide and little less than one

must ask permission of the parents or Daw Aw Zar when they wish to go to town or anywhere else even when leaving for school. In a special sense the children are "owned" by the parents. Considerate children appreciate the efforts of their parents and take care of them when they become old. If he had a son he would have to make the financial arrangements to "put him through" the novitiation or SHIN PYU ceremony. The corresponding "initiation" ceremony of the girls, that of ear-boring has not been done for the daughters. For the KYN HUN TAT (name giving) or "christaining" of the eldest daughter, U Myaing bought 50 leaves of bread, as well as sugar and coconuts to feed the children of the village. The ceremony cost Rs. 90/- or 100/-. The ceremony for the second and third daughters was celebrated with a black rice preparation called KAUKHWIN-BAUNG (treacle rice steamed). The ingredients consisted of 2 baskets of black rice (costing Rs. 10/-), 8 PYI of beans (costing Rs. 3/10), 2 condensed milk tins of sesamum oil (costing Rs. 1/-), 10 to 15 ticals of salt (costing 2 annas), and 4 coconuts. The family had to evacuate from Pathee before the ceremony of the youngest daughter. U Myaing was made a novice at the age of nine, together with six other young boys. The donors who were bearing the costs of the ceremony decked them out in fine clothes and in the evening, after being taught the stanzas asking for the robes, they were made KOYINS. Charities were given . U Myaing remained seven days as a KOYIN. His SHIN PYU or novitiation ceremony costs altogether between Rs. 3000/- and Rs. 4000/- (for the [illegible] boys), because, besides other expenses HTA MEINS were distributed free to all the women guests and PU SOKS to the men. U Myaing's grandfather bore the costs of making 14 boys KOYINS and one into an UPALIN or monk. The whole village helped to cook the food for the reception. This help was entirely voluntary and the helpers did not wait till requests were made for their help.

In times of financial difficulty U Myaing may borrow money from relations (preferred) or close friends. U Myaing's eldest brother is the first person to apply to - however, he does not have much money so cannot help in this way. But he can be depended on in various other ways. For example, he will help in a fight, or give good advice on where U Myaing might go for a job or to borrow money. A minstay financially is U Myaing's mother's elder sister (Daw Gyi), Ma Ohn Myint,

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426 593 or her daughters or sons who are financially well-to-do. U Myaing's sister who lives in Rangoon has given help to the eldest daughter by housing her near her cheroot-rolling job. The pattern of mutual aid among the relatives is strongly developed among the Burmese. "A tree will support a thousand birds" emphasises the importance of the relative who makes good for the rest of the family.

Relationship of Family to Community and State

602 621 A large portion of the Pathwe community were related to U Myaing. Consequently many reciprocal activities fell within the family group. Most of the activities were prescribed by virtue of being a member of the community rather than by kinship ties. Such activities include cooperation in house raisings, funerals, marriage festivals, SHIN PYU ceremonies where the family involved needs help. Unpleasant occasions such as funerals demand everyone's attendance if not financial participation. 602 621 476 [342] On pleasant occasions the participants are apt to be one's friends and relatives. When someone builds a small house or puts a new thatch roof on, the other villagers come to help. He does not have to pay the workers anything or even feed them. He has only to cook and prepare for them the raw foods and chillies, onions, etc., which each one brings for himself. This statement, however, holds true only when small houses are built. Regular carpenters have to be hired to build the big ones. U Myaing frequently helped to build other people's houses - small houses that could be completed in a day. Help of this nature is offered without asking.

764 621 476 When a person dies in the village, the villagers all go to the house and certain elders help to bathe and dress the corpse and place it on the bed, where it may be kept anywhere from three to seven days before being taken out and buried. The ground for burial is bought at the cemetery for the price of one pice. Now, in keeping with the general inflation, the price has risen to one anna. The grave is dug by the young men's group. The young men of the village carry the bier, or pull the bullock cart on which the coffin rests, and dig the grave. They also provide the orchestra. For performances on the night of the death and the day after a Burmese orchestra is engaged at the rate of Rs. 50/- to Rs. 100/-. The various visitors who come to condole with

572 The friendships he[1] has made with other workers do not seem to be
369 very deep or very lasting. In Pathwe the workers were all friends, and even included his relatives as well. There are not many strangers in Pathwe and even people not connected by blood ties were treated like relatives.

369 "In Rangoon the seller takes a profit on everything we have
●426 to buy for food; items like rice, vegetables and fruits. Of course
444 he cannot be blamed, because he has a living to earn too. He gives wage-earners goods on credit, but charges an interest on those goods! In Pathwe U Myaing could get most of the necessary food without having to pay any interest or middleman's profits since he bought straight from the producer. In Rangoon all people who earn monthly wages are the same. They have to take goods on credit. Those who do not earn regular salaries are allowed credit, but they have to undertake to settle accounts by a fixed date.

525 During the TAGU month festival, U Myaing gambled for money.
527 He has gambled to stakes as high as three hundred rupees, but never up to one or two thousand. In Pathwe they had this on the PAYA-GYI-DAUNG side, and U Myaing joined in whenever he came across in other villages a group who were playing while on business. When he was young he gambled away Rs. 700/- while on a trip to KYANGIN. They were all of them on the same boat and he lost that amount at DANUBYU. But by the time they reached YANDOON he had recovered his money. The games they played were poker and HO-HEK.

525 In their village they had people who held fights between game
541 cocks. U Myaing never bred any of these fowls but he has placed bets on them several times, small bets to the value of four or five rupees. There is no special announcement made but word gets around that there is to be a match at such and such a place on such and such a day, and at the appointed time the villagers who are interested all congregate at that spot.

There are bookmakers among the assembled villagers who are willing to take any bets on either side. Cock fighting is carried on during the months of PYATHO and TABODWE. And even then they have it during only four or five days in the month. U Myaing does not go to every meeting. In the rains the ground is wet for game cock-fighting

1. [i.e., U Myaing -- ANALYST]

These are his "eggs" and it is his duty to guard them while the others cluster around trying to get them away from him without being caught in the attempt. If they are successful in getting all the eggs away they then go and hide them. The "turtle" then has to go and look for eggs while the rest follow her giving encouragement clapping hands and shouting the chant " LEIT U PYI UK LO LEIT MA SHAR THU MHIN BYAR NGO ME NGO MEY (Because her eggs are lost the poor female turtle is tearfully looking for them). If the child succeeds in catching any one in an attempt to get an egg away that person becomes the turtle. 527 858

In Pathee they celebrated the water festival, but they did it in moderation and were satisfied if a person got slightly wet. MON-LEY-PHAUNG was given in the village. 527

U Myaing did not save any money in Pathee. Sometimes he made a great deal of money and sometimes he made nothing at all. Sometimes if he had a lot of money he would loan it out to some one else to be returned in three or four months time if possible. Sometimes these loans continued unsettled for about a year. Only in Rangoon do you have to pay interest. In Pathee if you did not borrow from chettiars you did not need to pay any interest. U Myaing did not go to the chettiars. He borrowed only from his relatives. There were people who went to raise money from the chettiar money lenders and some of them lost house, cultivation fields etc. because they could not pay the high rate of interest and had the mortgages on their property foreclosed. 454 426● [563]

Analysis of Social and Ceremonial Activities

The refugee camp may be regarded as a new village composed of families who came from villages in the delta similar to Pathee but placed in an urban setting. The other refugees have the same understandings as to socio-ceremonial activities as U Myaing and the basic 621 722 [369]

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

At intervals on the main lines of traffic are refreshment-booths, where fruit, sweetmeats, and tea are sold. Meals can be taken in the markets of the towns. In the villages casual travellers enjoy the hospitality of the people. In the afternoon the markets are closed; low tables are set in the roads, where cheroots, fruit, and sweetmeats are sold in the evening. Some of these refreshments are prepared on the spot, such as the *mònlebwè*, a wafer baked in the flame of a fire, in which it rises to an immense size.

292. CLOTH BAZAR.

The wholesale trade of Burma is conducted by brokers (*pwèza*) who receive a commission. Wealthy men operate with their own capital, others find investors and money-lenders to advance funds, some form partnerships and small companies to divide profits. Producers frequently bring their grain direct to the mills; but the bulk of the grain is bought up by the native brokers to the order of the exporters, most of whom never visit the interior. The interest on money is one to six per cent. per mensem. What is not hoarded in the form of plate and ornaments is put into trade or is put out to interest. Money-lending is not a special business because everybody practises it. Appalling as is the rate of interest—the measure of risk—such hard bargains are not driven as in India. Debtors when sold up can nowhere make a new start so well as in Burma. Brokers do banking in a small way; but banking has been made a regular branch of business by the Chettis from India (No. 364), who pay as much as one per cent. per month on deposits and charge one and a half per cent. on loans fully secured. European banks and investments with their high security and low rates of interest do not attract Burman capital.

293. NIGHT BAZAR.

The carrying business is mainly by water, for which Burma possesses unrivalled facilities, especially in the floods

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma AP1
Indians
Burmese AP4

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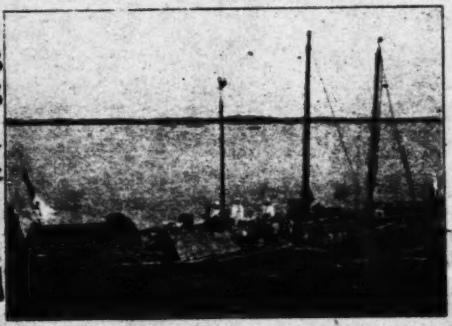

385. BRINGING THE PADDY TO THE RICE-MILLS.

ot every class and caste, with his foreign connection and longer experience, has an incalculable advantage over the untravelled Burman. Beginning with a lower standard of comfort than the Burman—squatting on the bare soil where the poorest Burman makes a floor, wearing cotton where the other wears silk, and being able to improve his original condition upon half the return that the Burman expects for his work—the Indian immigrant finds land worth his labour which the Burman leaves waste. The influx of races whose religion it is to multiply, without regard to the prospect of subsistence, must speedily result in lowering the scale of life for everyone in Burma—a country of which it may now be said that "a large share of the happiness of each individual is derived from the consciousness of the well-being of other individuals." (Herbert Spencer, *Principles of Ethics*, Vol. I., p. 297.) Commencing by hiring the cheap Indian labour to reap his corn, then to plough and till his fields, the while emulating his neighbours in superfluous works, the Burman is apt to end by becoming the debtor of his servant, and mortgaging to him his lands. It seems to many that there is no escape for the Burman from the Indian flood that now menaces his country. But up to the present no class of Indians has attempted to deal with land subject to the vicissitudes of the Burman riverain soil. It is unlikely that people of less versatility and resource will establish themselves there. In 1879, when the vagaries of the Irawadi had submerged the cultivation on the Panhlaing creek some twelve feet, and the eaves of the houses were under water, the cattle were saved in hasty platforms made in

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386. FORESHORE AT THE FACTORIES.